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An overview and annotated  
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## Ethnocultural Entrepreneurship: An Overview and Annotated Bibliography

by

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The opinions expressed within are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship.

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## Introduction

Canada, apart from the First Nations, has been built by waves of immigrants, their descendants, and the entrepreneurs within them. The role played by the entrepreneurs amongst them, including those from the ethnocultural communities, has been, and continues to be, fundamental to Canadian society.<sup>1</sup>

Canada's earlier settlers were primarily British and French, whose entrepreneurial activities resulted in institutions such as the Hudson's Bay Company.

Between the end of the Nineteenth century and World War I the diversity of immigrants increased.<sup>2</sup> During this period, the ethnocultural groups prominent within the entrepreneurial community included the Syrians, Armenians, Greeks, and Jews.

The interwar period was witness to another wave of immigrants, the most numerous of whom were the Ukrainians and Poles. Both groups demonstrated a high degree of prosperity.

Following World War II there was a third wave of immigrants, which brought in the British, Italians, Germans, Dutch, Poles, and Jews. There were entrepreneurs amongst all these ethnocultural communities.

During the post-war period Canada received immigrants from Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. In the 1970's came the Asians from Uganda and the refugees from South-East Asia. In the 1980's, immigration from both the Caribbean and Hong Kong have increased. These influxes have led to an increase in entrepreneurial activity within Canada.

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<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of this review, the terms ethnocultural communities or groups refers to those of other than French or British descent.

<sup>2</sup> This brief review of Canadian immigration history is drawn from Burnet (1988).

The entrepreneurial success of members of Canada's ethnocultural groups, many of whom started out as small business people, is symbolized by names such as Reichman, Stronach, Bata, Ghermazian, Ondaatje, Steinberg, Ping, and Tau.

Entrepreneurship means being innovative, willing to take risks, and includes the possession of business and organizational skills. As a group, ethnocultural entrepreneurs have made a positive contribution to the Canadian economy and society. However, as a consequence of their minority and entrepreneur status, they are faced with a particular set of problems.

In the first place, ethnocultural entrepreneurs experience the problems faced by small businesses in general such as access to credit and the development of entrepreneurial skills. Furthermore, and in addition, ethnocultural entrepreneurs experience problems specific to their status as ethnocultural minorities. Language, unfamiliar business practices, and discrimination are additional obstacles faced by some ethnocultural entrepreneurs.

The attached selective annotated bibliography includes entries that describe the effect of ethnocultural entrepreneurs on the economy and focus on the problems and issues with which they are confronted. Although the focus is on Canada, additional material is drawn from the United States, Britain, and France. In general, most of the material included was published within the last five years.

The sources of the bibliographic entries are disparate: academic books and journals; theses; periodicals, publications issued or sponsored by government departments such as Multiculturalism and Citizenship, Employment and Immigration Canada, and Statistics Canada; newspapers; etc. The bibliography is organized in terms of the following categories: (I) theoretical works; (II) empirical works; (III) historical works; (IV) bibliographies; directories; newspapers and periodicals.

## Literature Overview

### Theoretical Literature

For the purpose of this overview the theoretical literature is distinguished in terms of four modes of explanation of ethnocultural entrepreneurship (a) ethnic enclave (b) cultural (c) middleman minority and (d) 'disadvantage theory'. These theoretical approaches have been reviewed and critiqued by Cobas (1986), Min (1987), Toulouse and Brenner (1988), and Waldinger (1986), and in the collection edited by Ward and Jenkins (1984).

#### Ethnic enclave

The ethnic enclave approach stresses the importance of the ethnic community to the emergence and continued existence of ethnocultural enterprises.

Fratoe (1986) for example, focuses on ethnocultural businesses in the US which are claimed to be highly dependent upon group resources.

Model (1985) reveals that the ethnic enclave, which exists as a third alternative to the dual economy, supports not only ethnocultural enterprises but also functions as an ethnic labour market.

Research on particular ethnic groups within specific locations - Chung Kim and Huhr (1985) on the Koreans in Chicago, Palmer (1984) on the Italians in Britain, Portes (1987) on Cubans in Miami, Raulin (1988) on Asians in Paris, Webner (1984) on Pakistanis in Britain, Wong (1987) on the Chinese in New York City, and Zimmer (1987) on Asian shopkeepers in England - has revealed the continued importance of the ethnic enclave to ethnocultural enterprises.

Auster and Aldrich (1984) go so far as to claim that due to the vulnerability of small businesses in general and ethnocultural enterprises in particular, the ethnic enclave - in terms of resources and an ethnic market - is responsible for the continued survival of those businesses.

Within the Canadian context, the study by Kallen and Kelner (1983) demonstrated the importance of group support to the enterprises of selected ethno-religious groups in Toronto. Marger (1989) found that a section of the Indian business class in Toronto was dependant upon the ethnic economy.

However, the dissenting view is that ethnic enclaves are not vital to the success of ethnocultural enterprises. For example, Cobas (1986; 1987) deemphasizes the role of the ethnic enclave while Min (1985) cites a lack of evidence for the preeminence of the ethnic enclave vis-a-vis the Koreans in Atlanta.

### Cultural

The cultural approach, which was prominent in the 1950s and 1960s, argues that certain ethnocultural groups possess cultural values which predispose them towards entrepreneurial activity. Weber's 'Protestant Ethic' thesis, which continues to be influential, was very much in the culturalist vein. The values of frugality, deferred gratification, ascetism etc. were, according to Weber, responsible for the success of capitalist enterprises. The element of choice, governed by the possession of these attributes, is central to this mode of explanation.

More contemporary examples of the culturalist approach, such as Light (1972), argue that cultural values and practices particular to a ethnocultural group such as the provision of credit, contribute to the emergence and success of ethnocultural enterprises.

Partial incorporation of the cultural approach is prevalent within the literature. Webner (1984), in her discussion of the Pakistanis in the Manchester garment trade, argues that Pakistani entrepreneurs frequently draw on their group cultural resources.

Young and Sontz (1988) argue that the decisions of Hispanics in New York to set up enterprises were motivated by cultural and personal values of independence and personal satisfaction.

Culturalist explanations are also invoked by Min (1987), Palmer (1984), and Painchaud and Poulin (1988).

As Toulouse and Brenner (1988) have demonstrated, explanations for the varying rates of self-employment and entrepreneurship across ethnocultural groups may also be conceived in culturalist terms.

### **Middleman minority**

The middleman minority approach, pioneered by Bonacich (1973), attempts to explain the success of certain ethnocultural entrepreneurs, a success based on their ethnicity. Features such as the 'sojourner' mentality - characterized by thrift, diligence, and hard work, discrimination by the host society which strengthens ethnic ties, and the availability of economic niches are characteristic of the situation of the middleman minority. Conceived in these terms, South Asian entrepreneurs in Britain would constitute middleman minorities.

Waldinger (1986) attempts to characterize this approach and also provides a critique.

Elements of this approach are found within Bonacich (1987), Cobas (1986), Chung Kim and Huhr (1985), Min (1985), and Aldrich, Jones and McEvoy (1984).

### **Disadvantage theory**

The 'disadvantage theory' explains the phenomena of ethnocultural enterprises in terms of compulsion as opposed to choice. In essence, the disadvantage theory argues that the existence of barriers to employment, mobility, and opportunity experienced by ethnocultural groups leaves them little option for survival but self-employment. Language, education, institutionalized discrimination, de facto segregation, etc. are examples of these barriers. (Auster and Aldrich:1984).

Li (1987) in a study of the Chinese in Canada, argues that as a consequence of wide spread racism, the Chinese were forced to set up small businesses within ethnic enclaves in order to survive.

Novikowski (1984) also relates the pattern of entrepreneurial activity among South Asians in Britain to the structure of British society and the presence of racism.

### **I Empirical Literature**

The theoretical works are complimented by empirical studies of ethnocultural entrepreneurship. These studies, some of which attempt to test theoretical propositions, are based on statistical analysis and survey research.

Abt Associates (1988) for example, through discussions with senior executives from 20 multicultural enterprises, reveal some of the major problems, as they perceive them, faced by ethnocultural entrepreneurs.

Studies by Teega Research Consultants (1986) and Tepper (1988) describe the types of economic activity engaged in by various ethnocultural groups in Canada. Such works are crucial to the development of theory and policy.

Allen (1987, 1988), in a critical study, measures the economic impact of Canada's business immigration program highlighting its strengths and weaknesses.

Similar projects, oriented towards the US, have been undertaken by Bates (1987), Horton and DeJong (1988), and Wong (1988), and for the UK Werbner (1984) looks at the Pakistanis in Manchester.

In the late 1970's, Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) undertook a series of longitudinal studies on immigrant groups such as the West Indians, Tibetans, Czechoslovaks, Hungarians and the Ugandan Asians. The latter study found that the Uganda Asians often became small business entrepreneurs. Perhaps their previous business experience may have been one of the reasons.

## II Historical Literature

Ethnocultural groups have played a significant role in the development of Canada by contributing to the cultural, economic, and social structures of the country. This has been documented by a series of histories on Canadian ethnic groups sponsored by the Multiculturalism Directorate. Entitled Generations the series includes, among others, works on South Asians (Buchignani et al.1985), Ukrainians (Lupul,1982), and Hungarians (Dreisziger et. al.,1982). An introduction to the history of ethnic groups in Canada is provided by Burnet (1988).

## V Bibliographies; Directories; Periodicals and Newspapers

Bibliographies of works relevant to the issue at hand include Burnet (1988) which lists works on multiculturalism in Canada, and De Vries (1988) on the integration of ethnocultural communities into Canadian society.

Further resources exist in the form of listings and directories of multicultural business organizations, associations, and chambers of commerce. (Abt Associates, 1988; Multiculturalism Means Business 1989). Women Working with Immigrant Women of New Brunswick (1985) is an important resource for ethnocultural women entrepreneurs.

Also included are periodical and newspapers which include articles on entrepreneurship and ethnocultural entrepreneurship. These are, for example, the business sections of the Globe and Mail, The Financial Post, This Week in Business and Small Business.

Academic journals such as Canadian Ethnic Studies, Review of Black Political Economy and Sociological Perspectives have either devoted whole issues to ethnocultural entrepreneurship or published selected articles.

### **Research Possibilities**

The following suggestions in terms of areas of future research focus on the specific issue of ethnocultural entrepreneurship.

- Further research focused on Canada is necessary. This should include theoretical, empirical, and historical studies devoted to the issues of entrepreneurship in general and ethnocultural entrepreneurship in particular. For example, the importance of 'networking' and the ethnic market to ethnocultural entrepreneurs in Canada needs further elaboration.
- The reasons why certain ethnocultural businesses fail and the conditions necessary for their success.
- Studies which assess the impact of race relations on ethnocultural entrepreneurship.

- Studies which compare the emergence and development of ethnocultural businesses with mainstream businesses.
- The effect of the entrepreneur and business immigration program on particular ethnocultural enterprises.
- The effect of issues such as the Free Trade Deal on ethnocultural enterprises.
- In order to develop both ethnocultural enterprises and external trade, the relationship between ethnocultural entrepreneurs and foreign markets needs specification. This would allow the formulation of government policies and business strategies aimed at enhancing this relationship.
- Further research is also necessary in terms of the identification and elimination of obstacles encountered by ethnocultural entrepreneurs. Access to credit, financial and market information, and government services; the elimination of barriers emerging from discrimination; and the development of cultural skills conducive to conducting business in Canada are some of the issues and problems identified by entrepreneurs.
- Research is necessary in order to assess the opportunities available to, and obstacles faced by, ethnocultural women entrepreneurs. As entrepreneurs, minorities, and women, this group is confronted by numerous obstacles which need identification and elimination.
- The internal dynamics of the ethnocultural entrepreneur community itself exists as a focus for further research. The relations between multicultural business organizations, and between such organizations and the various levels of government should be specified.

## **Theoretical Literature**

Aldrich, H., Jones, T., and McEvoy, D. "Ethnic Advantage and Minority Business Development" in Ward and Jenkins (1984).

A study of Asian small businesses in Britain which attempts to determine the characteristics of those businesses in terms of either the ethnic enclave or the middleman minority hypotheses. The racial inequality characteristic of British society serves to reinforce the status of Asian entrepreneurs in spite of the potential offered by entrepreneurship for mobility. Asian entrepreneurs, instead of acquiring the attributes of middleman minorities continue to be relegated to the ethnic enclave. The structural features of British society act as barriers to the social mobility of Asian entrepreneurs.

Auster, Ellen and Aldrich, Howard. "Small Business Vulnerability, Ethnic Enclaves and Ethnic Enterprise" in Ward and Jenkins (1984).

This study explores the intersection of the social category of small business with that of ethnicity. The focus is on the ways in which particular ethnic groups have responded to economic vulnerability in societies where small businesses face the greatest difficulty. Vulnerability from social and economic forces emerging from the level of the world economy, the national economy, and the industry. The emphasis is on the role of the ethnic enclave in reducing the vulnerability of ethnic small business. This is offered as an explanation of the persistence of small businesses in advanced capitalist societies.

Bonacich, E. "'Making It' in America: A Social Evaluation of the Ethics of Immigrant Entrepreneurship" Sociological Perspectives, October 1987, V. 30, # 4.

The concept of 'making it' in the US is proposed as the central thrust behind immigrant entrepreneurship. The social values behind 'making it' are found to be closely linked to the capitalist ethic of utilitarianism. Immigrant entrepreneurs are found to be both oppressed and oppressors. On the one hand, large corporations exploit the products of their innovation and dynamism. On the other hand, immigrant entrepreneurs exploit workers from their own ethnic group, family members, and the US underclass. This dual oppressed/oppressor role makes them useful intermediaries, as they oppress those beneath them for the benefit of those above. It is hoped that seeing these relations clearly will enable people to transcend them.

Bonacich, E. "A Theory of Middleman Minorities" American Sociological Review, 1973, V. 38.

The term 'middleman minority' refers to the immigrant groups whose business ownership is extensive enough to provide a major source of livelihood for group members. The author argues that the commercial prowess of such groups is a consequence of their status of non-members of society. The European Jew is cited as the epitome of the middleman minority category.

Chan, J. and Cheung, Y-W. "Ethnic Resource and Business Enterprise: A Study of Chinese Businesses in Toronto" Human Organization, Summer 1985, V. 44, # 2

An exploration of the plausibility of various theoretical explanations focusing on Chinese businesses and based on personal interviews with 187 entrepreneurs. The article argues that the 'disadvantage' and cultural explanations of minority entrepreneurship are not mutually exclusive. The study revealed that with the passage of time and the increased heterogeneity of the immigrant community, structural disadvantages lose their saliency while the role played by the ethnic enclaves in fostering new businesses becomes more prominent.

Cobas, Jose A. "On the Study of Ethnic Enterprises: Unresolved Issues" Sociological Perspectives, October 1987, V. 30, # 4

Comments are offered on the articles in this special issue of Sociological Perspectives devoted to the 'ethnic economy'. The articles are discussed in light of unresolved questions in the study of ethnic enterprise, eg. (1) the import and viability of ethnic enterprise, (2) the antecedents of ethnic entrepreneurship, (3) the status of ethnic business owners and employees, and (4) competition between entrepreneurial minorities and the wider society.

Cobas, Jose. A. "Ethnic Enclaves and Middleman Minorities: Alternative Strategies of Immigrant Adaptation?" Sociological Perspectives, 1986, V. 29, # 2

This article examines two modes or strategies of immigrant adaptation which have been discussed in the literature: middleman minorities and ethnic enclaves. These strategies apply to ethnic groups which specialize in ethnic economies. Although they have been discussed as if they were disjointed and mutually exclusive explanations of immigrant adaptation, the argument is made here that such a description is open to challenge. First, both modes of ethnic business formation are not disjointed but share common explanations. With respect to some features of ethnic adaptation, neither mode prevails. That is, there is not a preponderance of empirical evidence favouring one strategy over the other.

Fratoe, F. "A Sociological Analysis of Minority Business" Review of Black Political Economy, Fall 1986 V. 15, # 2

This sociological analysis contends that minority business is foremost a group-level phenomena and is highly dependant upon social group resources for its development. This approach has its origins in the fact that other interpretations of minority business do not adequately account for the large proportional differences of owners across ethnic/racial groups. Census data on specific groups are examined to demonstrate those differences, both in regard to business participation rates and self-employment income. To help explain the differences, major functions performed by self-help networks supporting minority businesses are reviewed from the sociological research literature. The final section contains several policy implications.

Jenkins, Richard. "Ethnic Minorities in Business: A Research Agenda" in Ward and Jenkins (1984)

This article calls for further research into minority enterprises focusing in particular on qualitative and comparative approaches.

Kallen, Evelyn and Kelner, M. Ethnicity, Opportunity, and Successful Entrepreneurship in Canada, Toronto: Institute for Behavioral Research, York University, 1983

A study based on a sample of 124 successful entrepreneurs from 4 ethno-religious groups; Anglo-Protestants, Jews, Anglo-Catholics, and Italian-Catholics. This study test the validity of Weber's 'Protestant Ethic' thesis, in particular the idea that ethnic ties and loyalties are barriers to the development of entrepreneurial -i.e. rational - ideas and values. The study found that with respect to ethnicity, entrepreneurs maintained close ties with their ethnic groups while achieving success in business. It also reveals the importance of the ethnic enclave for the material and emotional support of the entrepreneur.

Ladbury, Sarah. "Choice, Chance, or no Alternative? Turkish Cypriots in Business in London" in Ward and Jenkins (1984)

This study focuses on the choices available to Turkish Cypriots in terms of economic activity. The marginalization of the Turkish Cypriots led to the choice of self-employment. The article assesses the choice of self-employment in terms of the industry chosen and in terms of the choices available on the open labour market. It also looks at generational changes, that is, the choices made by second generation Turkish Cypriots.

Light, I. and Bonacich, E. Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Koreans in Los Angeles 1965-1982, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

Koreans have long been known as the most entrepreneurial of the 'new immigrants' to the US. By the mid-1970s, Americans were already aware that Korean immigrants were buying, opening and operating businesses in major cities. Later, when Korean-black conflicts surfaced in many cities, Americans also began to fear the implications for intergroup relations of immigrant entrepreneurs who start in the middle rather than at the bottom of the social and economic hierarchy. Los Angeles contains the world's largest Korean settlement outside of Korea and is the premier city of small business in its own right. The long range causes of Korean entrepreneurship are located in the export of middle class workers, which was a product of Korea's cheap labour role in the world economic system. Since South Korea's current role in the world was shaped by decades of US military,

political, and economic intervention in the Korean peninsula, Korean immigrant entrepreneurship in American cities was, to a surprising extent, a long run consequence of US foreign policy. Short run causes of Korean entrepreneurship are found in the class and ethnic resources with which the immigrants were endowed and, paradoxically, in the disadvantages that immigrants encountered when trying to penetrate foreign labour markets. Clashes between Koreans and blacks are also discussed, together with their policy implications.

Light, I. Ethnic Enterprises in America: Business and Welfare Among Chinese, Japanese, and Blacks, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972

Min, Pyong Gap. "Factors Contributing to Ethnic Business: A Comprehensive Synthesis" International Journal of Comparative Sociology, September-December 1987, V. 28, # 3-4

A discussion of factors contributing to ethnic business, based on a review of the literature. Labour market disadvantages push minority members towards self-employment in small business. Some minority groups have cultural characteristics especially conducive to the development of small businesses, eg. work ethic, future orientation, and ethnic ties; some immigrant groups also have non-cultural advantages for small business. In addition, the social structure of the host society can encourage or constrain ethnic business, via such means as residential succession and racial segregation patterns, changes in industrial structure, and government policy.

Min, Pyong Gap. "Ethnic Business Success: The Case of Korean Small Business in Atlanta" Sociology and Social Research, April 1985, V. 69, # 3

Using interview data from a sample of Korean small businessmen in Atlanta, the degree of success these businessmen have experienced is examined, and several explanations are evaluated. These explanations come from the growing body of research and theory on racial-ethnic 'middleman minorities' and ethnic business enterprise. Support is found for linking respondents' success to hard work, frugality, location in predominantly black areas and, indirectly, cooperative efforts of family members. No support is found for

explanations that link Korean business success to large US corporations or to Korean ethnic resources and solidarity.

Nowikowski, Susan. "Snakes and Ladders: Asian Business in Britain" in Ward and Jenkins (1984)

A test of the hypothesis that ethnic business may provide the ladder by which, over the years, Asians in Britain may climb to socio-economic equality. This is usually achieved through the ethnic entrepreneur's assumption of the status of a 'middleman'. The study situates Asian business strategies within the wider context of the global economy and argues that Asian businesses are integrated in a structural position of disadvantage.

Rafiq, M. Asian Business in Bradford, West Yorkshire: A Study of Ethnic Entrepreneurship in Retailing, Manufacturing and the Service Industries. Unpublished Phd. dissertation, University of Bradford, 1988

This thesis develops a general model of entrepreneurship which integrates various theories of entrepreneurship and minority enterprises. Empirical research examines spectrum of Asian businesses in Bradford for size, volume of business, efficiency etc. Argues that Asians are not as entrepreneurial as believed. This misconception is based on the conspicuousness of their businesses.

Toulouse, Jean-Marie and Brenner, G. Immigrant Entrepreneurs: In Search of a Theoretical Model, Translated by Judith Rice-Lesage, Research report 88-05-01A : Chaire Maclean Hunter en Entrepreneurship, 1988

A review of the literature on immigrant entrepreneurship which is characterized as being disparate and voluminous. The works reviewed range from the journalistic to the theoretical. A distinction is made between descriptive and analytic literature. The purpose of the review is to identify major variables which would suggest the outline of a theoretical framework. Certain themes - eg, the predisposition of certain groups towards entrepreneurial activity, the relevance of the ethnic enclave, clustering within occupations and industries - dominate the descriptive literature. The analytic

literature attempts to account for the nature and dynamics of immigrant entrepreneurial activity. The cultural perspective and 'disadvantaged' theory are the most frequently invoked explanations. Included in the report is a summary of the relationship between immigration policy and immigrant entrepreneurs in Canada and Quebec. Suggestions for future research include improved sample design, refined research methods which avoid ethnocentrism, more precise definition of the term 'immigrant', the need for in-depth research, and the importance of context.

Waldinger, Roger. Through the Eye of the Needle: Immigrants and Enterprise in New York's Garment Trades. New York: New York University Press, 1986

"Immigrant firms enjoy a competitive advantage in small business industries because the social structure of the ethnic community provides a mechanism of connecting organizations to individuals and stabilizing these relationships." Waldinger goes beyond culturalist explanations by situating cultural factors within the context of the economy. Cultural theory is wedded to dual market theory in order to account for the structural changes taking place within the garment trade and their effects on immigrant enterprises.

Waldinger, Roger. "Immigrant Enterprise: A Critique and Reformulation" Theory and Society, 1986, 15, 1-2

While self-employment and small business have generally declined in advanced capitalist societies, they remain important for many immigrants. Major theories of this phenomenon, including cultural, middle-man minority, and enclave theories, are critically examined and found to be incomplete. A theory of immigrant enterprises is outlined which emphasizes access to ownership positions and availability of a viable economic niche. The opportunity structure facing small businesses, access to ownership, predisposition to entrepreneurship, and ethnicity as resource is considered.

Waldinger, R., Ward, R., and Aldrich, H. "Ethnic Business and Occupational Mobility in Advanced Societies" Sociology, November 1985, 19, 4

Reports on four current ethnic business research approaches: interactive, ecological, opportunity-structured, and cultural. The strong and weak points of the various methodologies are discussed and it is argued that most of the work is exploratory. In order for research to advance the focus on individual cases must be replaced by comparative approaches. This approach would allow the analysis of minority enterprises in different contexts.

Ward, Robin and Jenkins, Richard (eds) Ethnic Communities in Business: Strategies for Economic Survival, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984

This book is a collection of theoretical, empirical, historical, and comparative studies of the issue of ethnocultural entrepreneurship in Britain. Included in the collection is a statement on the possibilities of future research by Jenkins. The articles included within this bibliography include those by Boissevain, Auster and Aldrich, Jenkins, Pollins, Palmer, Ladbury, Nowikowski, Werbner, and Aldrich et. al.

## Empirical Literature

ABT Associates of Canada. The Economic Contribution of Multicultural Business Organizations, Toronto : Ministry of Treasury and Economics, 1988

A study based on interviews with senior executives from 20 multicultural business organizations in Ontario. The aim of the project was to determine the nature and extent of business activity supported by these organizations. The focus is on ethnic chambers of commerce and other business and professional organizations. Problems identified by interviewees with respect to doing business in Canada include: Canadian business practices, failure to exploit opportunities, distrust of government, lack of incentives, difficulty in obtaining venture capital. Recommendations include direct government funding to multicultural business organizations, the establishment of a resource institute, the establishment of an advisory or trade council, and more research on the issue.

Akbari, Ather H. Economics of Immigration and Racial Discrimination : A Literature Survey (1970-1989), Ottawa : Multiculturalism and Citizenship, 1989

Akbari, Ather H. Net Impact of Different Immigrant Groups on Canadians - Some evidence from the 1956-80 Cohorts, Ottawa : Employment and Immigration Canada, 1988

This study assesses the net impact of immigration in the period between 1956 and 1980 on the Canadian Treasury. This was determined by comparing the taxes paid and public services consumed by immigrants with the Canadian average. In general immigrants consumed less public services and paid more taxes than native born Canadians. The study concludes that immigration has a positive effect on the Treasury.

Allen, Joyce. "Minority Business Performance: A Comparison Among Ethnic Groups" Focus, May 1989, # 17

This study argues that black entrepreneurs lag behind Hispanics and Asians in some areas. However, they lead in the emerging fields of finance, insurance, and real estate. The study was based on the 1982 US Census Bureau Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises.

Ando, Faith H. "An Analysis of the Formation and Failure Rates of Minority-Owned Firms" Review of Black Political Economy, Fall 1986, V. 15, # 2

This article investigates the applicability of principles of industrial organization to an understanding of the formation and failure process of minority-owned firms. Among these principles are that formation will be high (and failure low) when a firm is located in a high growth industry, a high growth geographic locale, and an industry with low capital intensity. This article also evaluates whether some of the hypotheses from the minority literature also contribute to an explanation of the formation and failure process.

Ando, Faith H. "Capital Issues and the Minority-Owned Business" Review of Black Political Economy, Spring 1988, V. 16, # 4

This article presents some of the results from a survey of small business owners who differ in their ethnicity: Asians, blacks, Hispanics, and non-minorities. Contrary to the prevailing view of black and Hispanic owners and their firms, the blacks and Hispanics in the data base - in general and on average - had the same human and financial capital as their Asian and non-minority counterparts. However, black business owners had lower success rates than non-minority owners in obtaining commercial bank loans, although the terms for loans granted were similar for the two groups.

Anonymous "Minority Entrepreneurs Challenge the Barriers" Public Relations Journal, August 1989, V. 45, # 8

Audet, Benoit. Les Caracteristique Socio-Economique de la Population Immigree au Quebec, 1987

Bates, Timothy. "Self-Employed Minorities: Traits and Trends" Social Science Quarterly, Summer 1987, 68

A study of the US for the period 1960 to 1980 which compares the rates of self-employment of minorities with non-minorities.

Bates, Timothy. "Characteristics of Minorities who are Entering Self-Employment" Review of Black Political Economy, Fall 1986, V. 15, # 2

Self-employed minorities have, as a group, clearly become better educated and have registered substantial income gains in recent years. They have shifted away from traditional fields, favouring such emerging industries as skill-intensive services. Many entrants to self-employment, however, are poorly educated minorities concentrated heavily in such traditional areas as retailing. This study investigates the apparent paradox of poorly educated entrants coexisting with general upgrading in the minority entrepreneur universe. An elusive group - defined as 'part-timers' - is found to be vitally important to the growth dynamic of minority enterprise.

Bates, Timothy. "Impact of Preferential Procurement Policies on Minority-Owned Businesses" Review of Black Political Economy, Summer 1985, V. 14, # 1

Financial data on minority firms that compete for business in government programs reveal that these firms lag behind their non-minority counterparts. They are, relative to non-minority firms, (1) less profitable, (2) younger, and (3) much more highly leveraged. Large scale minority enterprises are no longer the rarity they were 20 years ago. The conclusion is that these firms have not, however, achieved parity with their non-minority cohorts, and their unique traits - especially under-capitalization - continue to reflect the vestiges of discrimination.

Beaujot, R., Basavarajappa, K. G. and Verma, R. Income of Immigrants in Canada : A Census Data Analysis, Ottawa : Supply and Services Canada, 1988

Boissevain, Jeremy. "Small Entrepreneurs in Contemporary Europe" In Ward and Jenkins (1984)

A general survey of small enterprises in Europe including Britain. The focus is on the resurgence of small business in the late 1970s and early 1980s after a period of decline. This resurgence is attributed to the role of taxes, the growth of the service sector, decentralization, and the impact of immigration. The increased number of immigrant entrepreneurs is a function of the vulnerability of minorities to unemployment, permanent settlement in the host country, racial discrimination, and cultural values and practices. Concludes that immigrant entrepreneurship constitutes a dynamic, growing sector of the economy and must be encouraged through the implementation of informed policies.

Borjas, G. J. The Self-Employment Experience of Immigrants, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1986 (mimeo)

Using the 1970 and 1980 US Census data, this study shows that the self-employment rates of immigrants was higher than that of the native-born; that there is a strong positive impact of assimilation on self-employment rates; and that more immigrants are opting for self-employment.

Burgess, S. The Nova Scotian Ethnocultural Entrepreneurial Experience, Halifax : Department of the Secretary of State, Regional Office, 1986

Canada Employment and Immigration Commission. Ugandan Asian Expelees: The First Twelve Months, Long Studies Series, Ottawa, 1977

This study found that Ugandan refugees were oriented towards self-employment and entrepreneurship in Canada. Previous experience as business people may have been a factor in this choice of economic activity.

Canada Employment and Immigration Commission. Czechoslovakian Refugee Study, Long Studies Series, SPP, Ottawa, 1975

Canada Employment and Immigration Commission Tibetan Refugee Study, Long Studies Series, Ottawa, 1975

Chan, J. and Cheung, Y-W. "Ethnic Resource and Business Enterprise: A Study of Chinese Businesses in Toronto" Human Organization, Summer 1985, V. 44, # 2

An exploration of the plausibility of various theoretical explanations focusing on Chinese businesses and based on personal interviews with 187 entrepreneurs. The article argues that the 'disadvantage' and cultural explanations of minority entrepreneurship are not mutually exclusive. The study revealed that with the passage of time and the increased heterogeneity of the immigrant community, structural disadvantages lose their saliency while the role played by the ethnic enclaves in fostering new businesses becomes more prominent.

Chen, Gavin M. "Minority Business Development: An International Comparison" Review of Black Political Economy, Fall 1986, V. 15, # 2

This article looks at how industrialized countries such as Canada, France, Great Britain, Holland, West Germany, and the US are addressing the issue of minority business development. The size and diversity of the minority population, the economic, social, and political conditions under which they migrate, and the host country recognition of their status affects the economic climate and the development success of this business sector, formed outside of their native habitats. Although conditions differ from country to country, minority businesses in general suffer from similar problems of capital access, market restrictions, and general management inadequacies. The development path of these business sectors are, however, affected by the host country policy and the official programs designed specifically to address their needs.

Chung Kim, Kwang and Hurh, Won Moo. "Ethnic Resources Utilization of Korean Immigrant Entrepreneurs in the Chicago Minority Area" International Migration Review, Spring 1985, V 19, # 1

A high proportion of Korean immigrants are self-employed in small businesses in the US. Because of their business proliferation, an empirical investigation was conducted of Korean immigrant entrepreneurs' ethnic resources utilization. Interview data collected from 100 respondents indicate that Korean entrepreneurs rely heavily on ethnic resources for both business preparation and operation. While such ethnic resources utilization facilitates the immigrants' business entry and gives them competitive advantage, the same mechanism poses serious problems; intra-ethnic business competition and precarious positions as middleman minorities. Implications of these findings are discussed and suggestions for future research are made.

Collenette, David M. The Place of Multiculturalism In Canada's Long-Term Economic Development, A brief submitted to the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada. March 1984

A statement which stresses the need for the development of Canada's multicultural resource, particularly as it relates to business development. The importance of Canada's ethnocultural entrepreneurs within the context of the international economy is also stressed. It is argued that minority entrepreneurs possess the ability to open foreign markets to Canadian goods and services.

Conseil des Communautés Culturelle et de l'Immigration du Quebec Avis sur le niveau d'immigration du Quebec pour 1989 et 1990, (Quebec) 1987

This statement argues the importance of business immigration to Quebec and the development of policies appropriate to its encouragement.

De Voretz, D. Immigrant Asset Performance, Ottawa : Employment and Immigration Canada, 1988

Using the 'life-cycle' model, the conclusion reached is that immigrants have a higher peak asset value than do native born Canadians and that immigrants make a strong, positive contribution to capital accumulation in Canada.

De Vries, J. Analytic Overview of the Literature on Ethnocultural Community Development and Integration, Ottawa : Multiculturalism and Citizenship, 1988

De Vries, J. Statistical Indicators of Ethnocultural Community Integration in Canadian Society, Ottawa : Multiculturalism and Citizenship, 1988

Dutt, S., Masemann, V., McLeod, K., and Mock, K. Ethnocultural Groups - The Making of Canada, Ottawa : Multiculturalism Canada, 1986

Highlights the success of ethnic small business owners, male and female, who have built successful small enterprises. Emphasis is placed on the phenomenal growth of the enterprises and the risk and innovation involved.

Employment and Immigration Canada Future Immigration Levels: 1988 Consultation Issues, Ottawa: Policy and Program Development, Immigration, 1988

Highlights immigration programme trends including the economic stream which includes business immigrants, that is, entrepreneurs, self employed, investors. This report also reviews business immigration for the period 1985-1987 showing the source and destination of immigrants.

Etude aupres des immigrants investisseurs etablis au Quebec entre 1983 et 1984, Quebec:  
Ministere des Communautes Culturelles, 1986

A study designed to measure the value of economic contributions of  
immigrant entrepreneurs to Quebec.

Fass, Simon. "Innovations in the Struggle for Self-Reliance: The Hmong Experience in the  
United States" International Migration Review, Summer 1986, V. 20, # 2

Theory suggests that the process by which traditional societies become more self-reliant involves entrepreneurship in experimenting in different ways to move from known to unknown forms of economic activity. Innovative projects in the US indicate that Hmong refugees are in the midst of such a movement. Progress to date has been slow and difficult, but the fact that the projects exist and that participants in many of them are learning how to improve performance provides a basis for cautious optimism about self-reliance outcomes.

Fratoe, F. "A Sociological Analysis of Minority Business" Review of Black Political  
Economy, Fall 1986 V. 15, # 2

This sociological analysis contends that minority business is foremost a group-level phenomena and is highly dependant upon social group resources for its development. This approach has its origins in the fact that other interpretations of minority business do not adequately account for the large proportional differences of owners across ethnic/racial groups. Census data on specific groups are examined to demonstrate those differences, both in regard to business participation rates and self-employment income. To help explain the differences, major functions performed by self-help networks supporting minority businesses are reviewed from the sociological research literature. The final section contains several policy implications.

Gold, G. Israelis in Canada: Small Business in Toronto Paper presented at ethnic studies conference, Calgary, October 20, 1989

Gouvernement de Quebec. Choosing to Live and Invest in Quebec, Quebec, 1987

This publication focuses on the success of six immigrant investors and the reasons for their choice of Quebec.

Handy, John. A Macro Analysis of Firm Formation and Firm Failure in the Black-Owned Business Sector, Unpublished Phd. dissertation, Georgia State University, 1985

An empirical study aimed at delineating the factors operating on black-owned firms. The study revealed numerous insights into the performance of black-owned firms.

Hersack, Gene and Thomas, D. Recent Canadian Developments Arising from International Migration, Ottawa : Employment and Immigration Canada, 1988

This study describes the characteristics of migrants received by Canada as well as specific immigration program positions. Demographic, economic, and social effects of the migration are assessed. A discussion of broader economic effects states that immigrants belonging to the self-employed, entrepreneur, and investor categories create jobs by starting, or investing in, businesses. The study concludes that immigration has a positive net effect on government budgets.

Hisrich, R. and Brush, C. "Characteristics of the Minority Entrepreneur" Journal of Small Business Management, October 1986, V. 24, # 4

This is an empirical study based on a sample of 217 minority entrepreneurs. The findings suggested that minority entrepreneurs should attend practical seminars in order to learn management techniques.

Horton, H.D. and DeJong, G.F. Black Entrepreneurs: A Sociodemographic Analysis Paper presented at the 83rd annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, 1988

Indicators from disadvantaged theory, the black economic development literature, and sociodemographic attainment studies are used to assess the extent and nature of the change occurring between 1970 and 1980 in the number of black entrepreneurs in the US. Data obtained from the Census Public Use Microdata Samples show that black entrepreneurial activity did not increase between 1970 and 1980 and remained much lower than that for non-black workers in the US. Results of longitudinal analysis suggest that neither the disadvantaged theory nor the black development hypothesis alone provide acceptable explanatory models of changing patterns of black entrepreneurial activity, but significant interactions and enhanced explanations emerge by adding age and sex patterns of black entrepreneurial activity to the analysis.

Industry, Science and Technology Canada Small Business in Canada: Growing to Meet Tomorrow, Ottawa, 1989

This report provides an overview of small business in Canada; a description of the climate for small business in Canada; a listing of government services to small business; and describes current issues and future challenges. A section on ethnic entrepreneurs is also included which argues that ethnocultural groups with business skills constitute an important resource within the business community. The ability of ethnic entrepreneurs to penetrate overseas markets is stressed.

Jain, H.C. and Sloane, P.J. "The Impact of Recession on Equal Opportunities for Minorities and Women in the US, Canada, and Britain" Columbia Journal of World Business, Summer 83, V. 18

This article examines evidence of gross earning differentials, unemployment, and the use of equal employment opportunity legislation between the US, Canada, and Britain.

Kallen, Evelyn and Kelner, M. Ethnicity, Opportunity, and Successful Entrepreneurship in Canada, Toronto : Institute for Behavioral Research, York University, 1983

A study based on a sample of 124 successful entrepreneurs from 4 ethno-religious groups; Anglo-Protestants, Jews, Anglo-Catholics, and Italian-Catholics. This study test the validity of Weber's 'Protestant Ethic' thesis, in particular the idea that ethnic ties and loyalties are barriers to the development of entrepreneurial -i.e. rational - ideas and values. The study found that with respect to ethnicity, entrepreneurs maintained close ties with their ethnic groups while achieving success in business. It also reveals the importance of the ethnic enclave for the material and emotional support of the entrepreneur.

Keller, R. "Minority Business Development: Strengthening Baltimore's Minority Firms" Economic Development Commentary, Fall 1985, V. 9, # 3

Business executives in Baltimore are implementing a minority business development program that might become a model for the private sector in communities throughout the US. Recognizing that minority enterprises must surmount obstacles beyond those generally encountered by small businesses, the Greater Baltimore Committee, an association of nearly 1000 corporate executives, has developed a multifaceted program to address four critical needs: access to capital for business growth; management and technical assistance; bonding; increased access to markets through procurement. In creating the program, the Committee approached the task not as a social issue but rather as one of economic development. Already, a small group of black business leaders - most involved in the GBC - have formed the President's Roundtable to provide their own network and base of power.

Ladbury, Sarah. "Choice, Chance, or no Alternative? Turkish Cypriots in Business in London" in Ward and Jenkins (1984)

This study focuses on the choices available to Turkish Cypriots in terms of economic activity. The marginalization of the Turkish Cypriots led to the choice of self-employment. The article assesses the choice of self-employment in terms of the industry chosen and in terms of the choices available on the



open labour market. It also looks at generational changes, that is, the choices made by second generation Turkish Cypriots.

Lamoreaux, Josee. Les Impacts Economique de l'Immigration Montreal: Conseil Communautés Culturelle et de l'Immigration du Quebec, 1987

Lasry, J.C. "Une diaspora francophone au Quebec: les Juifs Sepharades" Questions de Culture, Institutes Quebecois de recherche sur la Culture, Volume 2

A study of North African Sephardic Jewish immigrants in Montreal which notes that the number of self employed immigrants has risen from 9% to 38%. This is higher than the immigrant rate in general which is 5%.

Li, P.S. "The Economic Cost of Racism to Chinese Canadians" Canadian Ethnic Studies, 1987, V. 19, # 3

This article argues that the Chinese in Canada, as a consequence of widespread racism, were forced into setting up businesses in ethnic enclaves as a means of survival. 1981 Census data reveals that the earnings of the Chinese lag behind other groups. As a consequence of the unfavourable market conditions the Chinese move into occupational niches where race is less problematic than elsewhere.

Marger, M. Ethnic Enterprise in Canada: An Analysis of East Indians In Small Business, American Sociological Association, 1989 (conference paper)

An analysis of East Indian businesses in Toronto based on interviews with 38 entrepreneurs. The theoretical framework was provided by elements of the ethnic enclave and middleman minority models. The study revealed that the Indian business class was bifurcated. One section caters to the ethnic community while the other operates independently of it. Thus Indian entrepreneurs do not fit into either one of the models. Internal cleavages within the ethnic community, the absence of residential clustering, minimal

entry restrictions to the small business sector of the core economy, and government policy which encourages minority entrepreneurship are cited as reasons for this phenomena.

Memon, P. A. "Public Policy in an Ethnically Plural Society: Approaches of London Boroughs Towards Black Business Development" Town Planning Review, January 1988, V. 59, # 1

The promotion of small business has recently evolved as a focus of the economic policies for inner cities in the UK under Thatcher's administration. At the same time, a number of central government initiatives have emerged to assist black business development. Within the context of this wider policy framework, this investigation probes the extent to which London Boroughs have acknowledged black business development as a policy issue and the nature of their response to this issue. The policy instruments to implement council initiatives are discussed with reference to the following: provision for advisory services and financial assistance, management training, property-based initiatives, purchasing policies, and home employment initiatives. In the concluding section of the analysis, the viability of local authority intervention to promote black entrepreneurship is critiqued.

Min, Pyong Gap. "Ethnic Business Success: The Case of Korean Small Business in Atlanta" Sociology and Social Research, April 1985, V. 69, # 3

Using interview data from a sample of Korean small businessmen in Atlanta, the degree of success these businessmen have experienced is examined, and several explanations are evaluated. These explanations come from the growing body of research and theory on racial-ethnic 'middleman minorities' and ethnic business enterprise. Support is found for linking respondents' success to hard work, frugality, location in predominantly black areas and, indirectly, cooperative efforts of family members. No support is found for explanations that link Korean business success to large US corporations or to Korean ethnic resources and solidarity.

Min, Pyong Gap. "From White Collar Occupations to Small Business: Korean Immigrants Occupational Adjustment" The Sociological Quarterly Summer 1984, V. 25, # 3

A study based on personal interviews which revealed that the reasons Koreans were turning to small business included their perception of disadvantages in non-business occupations, their sense of status inconsistency, and their anticipation of economic mobility through business.

Model, Suzanne. "A Comparative perspective on the Ethnic Enclave: Blacks, Italians and Jews in New York City" International Migration Review, Spring 1985, V. 19, # 1

It is maintained that the ethnic enclave represents a distinct, third alternative to a dual economy. Data from interviews with elderly, immigrant blacks, Jews, and Italians from New York City are used to explore two facets of the enclave: determinants of job outcomes for employees, and factors responsible for entrepreneurial viability. The analysis shows that enclave workers obtain job security and job status equivalent to openings in the primary sector. Investigation of the organization of ethnic entrepreneurship reveals that the mobilization of several factors unique to ethnicity enhance the competitiveness of minority firms.

Morokvasic, M. "Garment Production in a Metropole of Fashion: Small Enterprise, Immigrants and Immigrant Entrepreneurs" Economic and Industrial Democracy, February 1988, V. 9, # 1

Using the case of Paris, France this article attempts to explain why garment industries remain the domain of immigrants. It is argued that a continuous match between the structure of the industry and the economic expectation of immigrants is the major reason for this feature.

Multiculturalism Canada Socio-Economic Profiles of Selected Ethnic/Visible Minority Groups, Ottawa, 1986

Identifies 17 ethnic and visible minority groups based on the 1981 Census. Although the category of self-employed was not distinguished within the profiles, data related to labour force activity occupation, industry, and income sets the socio-economic context of minority entrepreneurial activity.

Nash, Alan "Our Enterprising Immigrants" Policy Options Politiques, December 1988

A condensed version of the 1987 study (see below) incorporating the implications of the Meech Lake Accord. The suggestion is that the devolution of powers to the provinces under the Accord would constitute a barrier to the reduction of regional disparities.

Nash, Alan The Economic Impact of the Entrepreneur Immigrant Program, Ottawa : Employment and Immigration Canada, 1987

Canada's business immigration program has had, in terms of job creation and capital accumulation, a generally positive effect. This report, however, highlights some of the consequences, unintended and negative, of the program. The most serious problem identified is that of increased regional disparity. For example, between 1984 and 1986, most of the investments and business startups were destined for Ontario where 14,000 new jobs were anticipated. Newfoundland, in contrast, was destined for only 3 jobs for the same time span. The emphasis on business immigration has also meant that the economic contribution of other categories of immigrants, which is shown to be significant, has been underestimated. Based on the recognition of these problems, ameliorative policies and measures include: the comprehensive monitoring of the economic impact of the business immigration program; the recognition of the economic importance of all immigrants in order to develop appropriate policies; the recognition of the value of the unique qualities of business immigrants such as foreign ties; and the reduction of regional inequalities.

Olivas, Louis. "Minority and Non-Minority Owned Businesses: Study Reveals Significant Differences" Arizona Business, December 1986, V. 33, # 10

This study based on 423 responses to a questionnaire sent to minority and non-minority firms. Owners of minority businesses tended to be older, have less formal education, and less business experience. Minority owners also employed fewer people.

Ornstein, M.D. and Sharma, R.D. Adjustment and Economic Experience of Immigrants in Canada: An Analysis of the 1976 Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants, Toronto : York University, Institute for Behavioral Research, 1983

Palmer, Robin. "The Rise of the Britalian Cultural Entrepreneur" in Ward and Jenkins (1984)

A study which traces the changes in Italian entrepreneurship in Britain over two decades. The study develops the concept of the cultural entrepreneur - the ethnicity or culture of the entrepreneur is employed as a vital part of his/her stock in trade. It also highlights the importance of the ethnic enclave to the continued existence of the cultural entrepreneur.

Perkins, Joseph. "Boom Time for Black America: The Middle Class is Surging Under Reagan" Policy Review, Summer 1988, 45

It is argued that the 1980s have been lucrative years for black owners of businesses. Rather than using negative indicators (eg. numbers of blacks in poverty), the best statistics for estimating the status of blacks are selected indicators of positive gains. Newly successful black entrepreneur Reginald Lewis, a junk bond promoter, is highlighted. A rise in the black middle class is argued, and some black managers in large corporations are named. It is pointed out that black college enrolment increased 4% from 1980 to 1985.

Pollins, Harold. "The Development of Jewish Business in the United Kingdom" in Ward and Jenk. (1984)

Through their long history in Britain, there has been a tendency for Jews to be more highly represented in entrepreneurship than other groups. Tradition and emerging economic opportunities contributed to this tendency. In the Twentieth century, and simultaneous with the development of large Jewish enterprises, the number of Jews who were self-employed was found to be much higher than the national average. The predilection of Jews to independent economic activity is related to cultural and historical factors.

Portes, Alejandro. "The Social Origins of the Cuban Enclave Economy of Miami" Sociological Perspectives, October 1987, V. 30, # 4

Recent research on the origins of the Cuban ethnic economy in Southern Florida is reviewed in the context of competing theories of minority entrepreneurship. Sociological theories which emphasize contextual factors internal to the group appear best to fit the empirical evidence but they do not clarify the dynamic aspects of the process by which individual and family business goals are implemented. A typology of minority enterprises is developed on the basis of the background characteristics of their founders. Implications of this evidence for theory and policies aimed at promoting self-employment among minorities are discussed.

Raulin, Anne. "Espaces marchands et concentrations urbaines minoritaires-la petite Asie de Paris (Minority Business Spaces and Urban Concentrations of Minorities-Paris' Little Asia)" Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie, July-December 1988, 35, 85

The formal phenomenon of urban areas settled by specific ethnic groups is a phenomenon that has recently increased greatly in Paris, France, especially in the influx of Chinese immigrants from Southeast Asia. To understand this phenomenon and to define the contemporary urban status of minority areas - often described as ghettos - particular attention is given to the insertion in space of both large and small enterprises. Using census data and other statistical evidence from the 1980s, the structural causes of the implantation of Asian businesses are investigated. Predominantly, they serve the consumer

needs of the immigrant population, especially for food products. Beyond this, 'Little Asia' serves the economic, social, and cultural needs of the Asian community.

Razin, E. "Entrepreneurship Among Foreign Immigrants in the Los Angeles and San Francisco Metropolitan Regions" Urban Geography, May/June 1988, V. 9, # 3

The associations between location and entrepreneurial activity among immigrants are described and analyzed here. With data drawn from the 1980 Census of Population, comparisons are made of self-employment among foreign immigrants who arrived in the US between 1970 and 1980 and lived in 1980 in the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas. Most immigrant groups are found to show higher rates of self-employment in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. However, owing to the dominance in Los Angeles of Mexicans with a low tendency to engage in entrepreneurial activities, the total rate of self-employment among immigrants is found to be equal in both metropolitan regions. Businesses formed by immigrants in Los Angeles are observed to be more diversified than those in San Francisco. In Los Angeles, but not in San Francisco, self-employment is found to lead to higher incomes - relative to incomes of employees - for people in most groups of new immigrants.

Reeves, Frank and Ward, Robin. "West Indian Business in Britain" in Ward and Jenkins (1984)

A comparative study of blacks and Asians in Britain. Statistical data reveals that, in general, West Indians are under-represented within small businesses while Asian immigrants from South Asia and East Africa were over-represented. Reasons why the rate of black self-employment is low include the structure of the economy, racial discrimination, and a lack of business skills. Asians, in contrast, have better access to resources, skills, and markets. Traces the relationship between conservative government policy and black business. The general affinity of conservative governments to small businesses implies the possibility of growth for black businesses.

Richmond, A. H. Caribbean Immigrants: A Demo-economic Analysis, Current Demographic Analysis Series, Statistics Canada Occasional Paper, cat. # 91-536

Reports that the entrepreneur and self-employment activities of Caribbean immigrants was low compared to the national average and to other immigrant groups

Richmond, A. H. and Zubrzycki, J. Immigrants in Canada and Australia. Volume Two: Economic Adaptation, Toronto: Institute for Behavioral Research, York University, 1984

This volume examines the industrial distribution, labour force participation, occupational characteristics, social status, and income of immigrants in Canada and Australia.

Rostum, H. Employment of Ethnic Groups in the Food and Accommodation Industries, Ottawa : Multiculturalism Secretariat, 1988

Includes a section on the self-employment of ethnic groups in the food and accommodation industries. Compares the self-employment rates of particular ethnic groups to other ethnic groups and to the population in general. Study reveals that 17% of visible minorities are self-employed in the industries while the average among all groups is 5%.

Samuel, T.J. and Conyers, T. The Employment Effect of Immigration: A Balance Sheet Approach, Ottawa : Employment and Immigration Canada, 1986

This study explores the extent to which immigration is likely to exacerbate or relieve unemployment. This is achieved by using a 'balance sheet' of immigration between 1983 and 1985 in terms of an increase in the supply of and demand for labour, either through jobs created by immigrants or through their consumption of goods and services. It is concluded that, on balance, immigrants may create more employment than they take in Canada.

Immigration therefore, should be seen in a more positive light with respect to its employment effects.

Smith, A. Wade and Moore, J. V. "East-West Differences in Black Economic Development"  
Journal of Black Studies, December 1985, V. 16, # 2

Statistics are used to trace changes in entrepreneurship among black Americans between 1970 and 1977. Analysis shows that the character of black businesses is fundamentally different in the Western US compared to all other regions. The more viable black businesses, particularly during the 1971-1977 period, are those which do not specialize in delivering services to a primarily black clientele, and those which have managed to penetrate high technology fields. More recently, successful black entrepreneurs have been found to possess specialized training in high technology fields and/or advanced business education. It is urged that regional coordinating services be developed to assist new ventures by blacks and other minorities.

Steward, J. F. and Boyd, D. R. "Teaching Entrepreneurs: Opportunities for Women and Minorities" Business Forum, Summer 1988, V. 13, # 3

Statistics are presented which reveal that small businesses in the US are increasing in number. However, the failure rate for new small businesses is 40%. This suggests that a training program designed to help new entrepreneurs is necessary. Recommends that minorities and women in higher education and with an interest in owning a small business should have access to programs which would teach them entrepreneurial skills.

Teega Research Consultants Highlights of Self Employment of Ethnocultural Groups in Canada - Report 1: Introduction and Overview, Ottawa : Multiculturalism Canada, 1986

A series of reports, based on 1981 Census data, which examines aspects of self-employment among ethnocultural groups within specific industry categories for Canada, Ontario, and Toronto. The overview begins by defining self-employment and ethnocultural groups. The second part of the

overview highlights self-employment in Canada focusing on the following: self-employment by ethnocultural group; male-female differences in self-employment; self-employment by immigrant status; self-employment by region. Various conclusions are drawn from the data including the lower self-employment rates for women and certain ethnocultural groups, and the important role of ethnocultural groups in self-employment.

Teega Research Consultants Highlights of Self Employment of Ethnocultural Groups in Canada - Report 2: British, French, and other groups in selected industries (in Canada, Ontario, and Toronto), Ottawa : Multiculturalism Canada, 1986

The reports themselves focus on specific ethnocultural groups in terms of self-employment within certain industries for Canada, Ontario, and Toronto. Indicators include differences in self-employment of ethnic groups; ethnic participation in different industries; labour force participation of specific ethnocultural groups compared to others; industry participation of self-employed persons of specific ethnocultural groups compared to others.

Teega Research Consultants Highlights of Self Employment of Ethnocultural Groups in Canada - Report 3: German, Italian, Jewish, Ukrainian and Dutch groups in selected industries (in Canada, Ontario, and Toronto) Ottawa : Multiculturalism Canada, 1986

Teega Research Consultants Highlights of Self Employment of Ethnocultural Groups in Canada - Report 4: Visible minorities in selected industries (in Canada, Ontario and Toronto), Ottawa : Multiculturalism Canada, 1986

Tepper, Elliot. Self-Employment in Canada Among Immigrants of Different Ethno-Cultural Backgrounds, Ottawa : Employment and Immigration Canada, 1988

A study based on the 1981 Census which concentrates on self-employment in terms of similarities and differences between immigrants and non-immigrants, and within ethno-cultural communities. The report provides

details of differences between ethno-cultural groups in terms of rates of self-employment and in terms of clustering within occupations and industries. Suggested causes of these differences are cultural values and practices which predispose certain activities, market opportunity, racial constraints, and immigration policies and practices. The study observes a downward trend in terms of self-employment among immigrants in general and suggests the fine-tuning of immigration policy in order to encourage self-employment. Recommendations for future research include further analysis and refinement of Census data, contextual analysis, and research and policy implications.

Ward, Robin and Jenkins, Richard (eds.) Ethnic Communities in Business: Strategies for Economic Survival, Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1984

This is an important collection of theoretical, empirical, historical, and comparative studies on minority entrepreneurs in Britain. The book also includes a review of the state of affairs of work on minority entrepreneurship and suggestions for future research. Articles by Boissevain, Auster and Aldrich, Pollins, Palmer, Ladbury, Nowikowski, Werbner, Aldrich et. al., Cater, and Jenkins are included elsewhere in this bibliography.

Werbner, Pnina "How Immigrants Can Make It in Britain" New Society, September 1985, 73, 1186

The entry of Pakistani immigrants into the clothing trade of Manchester, England, is discussed. It is argued that because immigrants often face discrimination or lack the cultural tools to advance themselves through conventional ways, they become entrepreneurs. Although ethnic businesses are usually precarious, they are sustained by mutual help from fellow immigrants and the support of a household unit. Pakistanis' success in the manufacture and trading of cheap fashion goods is illustrated by some personal stories of immigrants entering this economic niche.

Werbner, Pnina. "Business in Trust: Pakistani Entrepreneurship in the Manchester Garment Trade" in Ward and Jenkins (1984)

An assessment of immigrant entrepreneurship which examines the full network of connected businesses and jobs generated within a niche. Traces the entry of Pakistanis into several branches of the Manchester garment trade, and outlines some of the strategies and attitudes which make such entry possible. Utilizes the concept of 'entrepreneurial chain' where early successful entrepreneurs provide sponsorship, patronage, credit, or advice to relatives and friends.

Women Working with Immigrant Women of New Brunswick Immigrant Women as Small Business Entrepreneurs, Fredericton, New Brunswick, 1985 (mimeo)

A report on the problems faced by immigrant women entrepreneurs. Based on interviews and informal discussions with several local Fredericton immigrant women entrepreneurs from different ethnic groups. Focuses on issue of why statistical profiles of immigrant business enterprises may under-represent immigrant women entrepreneurs. The report outlines the general problems faced by small businesses, female entrepreneurs, and immigrant women entrepreneurs. The problems particular to immigrant women entrepreneurs - in addition to those faced by small business and female entrepreneurs in general - include language barriers, additional difficulty in obtaining financial assistance, cultural barriers, and increased isolation. The second part of the report is a guide to how such barriers may be overcome through counselling and access to resources such as credit and financial help. References and programmes for new entrepreneurs are included as well as an information module for immigrant women as small business entrepreneurs.

Wong, B. Patronage, Brokerage, Entrepreneurship and the Chinese Communities of New York. Immigrant Communities and Ethnic Minorities in the United States and Canada, No. 30, New York : AMS Press, 1988

A descriptive analysis of the formation and maintenance of patronage and brokerage and the role they play in the economic adaptation of the Chinese community in New York. With the 1965 Immigration Law used as a point of reference, and the year 1965 as a dividing mark, the history of the Chinese community is divided into two parts: 1870 to 1964, and 1965 to the

present. Among the subjects addressed are the following: the nature, formation, and function of various interpersonal relationships, with particular emphasis on patron-client and broker-client relationships; the manipulation of these interpersonal relations, under the reinforcements and constraints inherent in both the Chinese community and the larger society, for individual and collective adaptation; and the consequent social arrangements, structural characteristics, and influence on the Chinese ethnic boundary during the two periods noted above.

Wong, Bernard. "The Role of Ethnicity in Enclave Enterprises: A Study of the Chinese Garment Factories in New York City" Human Organization, Summer 1987, V. 46, # 2

It was found that enclave enterprises function differently from those in the central economy. The often assumed incompatibility of traditional values, personalism, familism, and informal social relations that prevail in the enclave economy are important assets for the entrepreneurial pursuits of Chinese in the ethnic enclave of New York City. The skilful use of noneconomic resources is vital in the establishment of the efficient but small garment factories that are best suited for: (1) the exploitation of the opportunity structure of New York's garment industry, (2) the maximization of capital and labour resources, and (3) the neutralization of management/labour conflicts. Contrary to the claims of many social scientist that ethnic enterprises are riven by conflict and burdened by low productivity, it was found that ethnic enterprises were successful. A major factor for their success was that ethnic enterprises were supported by a repertory of ethnic resources. Proper management of ethnic/cultural resources is a key to the entrepreneurial success of ethnic businessmen.

Young, P.K.Y. and Sontz, Anne "Is Hard Work the Key to Success? A Socioeconomic Analysis of Immigrant Enterprise" Review of Black Political Economy, Spring 1988, V. 16, # 4

This study examined the personal backgrounds, business objectives, modes of operation, and degrees of success of Korean greengrocers and Hispanic grocery store owners in the New York metropolitan area. The study sought to uncover factors that may condition differential business performance among all groups of immigrant entrepreneurs. Koreans, it was found, were guided by the profit motive while Hispanics were motivated by a need for

independence and personal satisfaction. This led to the conclusion that there were alternative measures of material 'success'. Certain policy implications of this conclusion could lead to further immigrant participation in small business.

Zimmer, Charles and Aldrich, Howard. "Resource Mobilization Through Ethnic Networks: Kinship and Friendship Ties of Shopkeepers in England" Sociological Perspectives, October 1987, V. 30, # 4

Shopkeepers have social networks composed of ties to many other family, friends, suppliers, customers, employees, and moneylenders. Examined here are the effects of ties to family and friends on three aspects of entrepreneurship - business foundings, success, and turnover - for Asian and white shopkeepers in four English cities. Social ties are important for all three processes in both groups. These findings shift the focus in comparative studies of immigrant and native groups from group differences to group similarities. Studies examining only immigrants may find apparently distinctive characteristics; but, in fact, many traits are common to all small business owners.

## Historical Literature

### Historical Works

The following is a selected list of historical studies, some of which are part of the "Generations" series sponsored by Multiculturalism Canada.

Abu-Laban, B. la Presence Arabe en Canada, Ottawa : Le Circle du Livre de France, 1981

Buchignani, N., Indra, D. and Srivasta, R. Continuous Journey. A Social History of South Asians in Canada, Toronto : McClelland and Stewart, 1985

A history of immigrants to Canada who have their roots in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka.

Burnet, Jean and Palmer, Howard Coming Canadians: An Introduction to a History of Canada's Peoples, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988

This book surveys the experiences of immigrant ethno-cultural groups in Canada from the Nineteenth century to the present. Includes a useful bibliography on the subject.

Chimbos, P.D. The Canadian Odyssey. The Greek Experience in Canada, Toronto : McClelland and Stewart, 1980

Dreisziger, N. F., Kovacs, M. L., Body, P. and Kovrig, B. Struggle and Hope: The Hungarian Canadian Experience, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982

Lupul, M. R. A Heritage in Transition. Essays on the History of Ukrainians in Canada, Toronto : McClelland and Stewart, 1982

Vigod, B. L. The Jews in Canada, Canada's Ethnic Groups, # 7, Ottawa : Canadian Historical Association, 1984

**Bibliographies; Resource Materials; Directories;  
Periodicals and Newspapers**

Abt. Associates The Economic Contribution of Multicultural Business Organizations.  
Toronto : Ministry of Treasury and Economics, 1988

This report includes a listing of multicultural business organizations.

Anderson, W.W. Caribbean Orientations. A Bibliography of Resource Materials on the Caribbean Experience in Canada. Toronto : The Organization for Caribbean Canadian Initiative and Williams-Wallace Publishers Inc., 1985

This bibliography includes a partially annotated list of materials which provide insight into the process of Caribbean integration into Canadian society.

Burnet, J. Multiculturalism in Canada, Ottawa : Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, 1988

This book is one of the Canadian Studies Resource Guides published by the Secretary of State. It includes an introduction to multiculturalism in Canada and lists essential and further readings on the subject.

De Vries, J. The Integration of Ethno-Cultural Communities into Canadian Society: A Selected Bibliography, Ottawa : Multiculturalism and Citizenship, 1988

The bibliography is organized in terms of the following categories: Canadian ethnocultural communities in general; specific ethnocultural communities; and integration indicators which include the economic.

Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada Publications Supported by the Multiculturalism Program, Ottawa

This is a series of annual directories containing annotated entries on works published with the aid of Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada.

Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada Multiculturalism Means Business: A Directory of Business Contacts Ottawa : Multiculturalism Secretariat, 1989

This directory is divided into three categories: a listing of ethnocultural business organizations; a listing of members of ethnocultural business advisory committees associated with the Federal Business Development Bank; and a listing of the bilateral business organizations specializing in trade between Canada and another country or region.

Women Working with Immigrant Women of New Brunswick Immigrant Women as Small Business Entrepreneurs, Fredericton, New Brunswick, 1985 (mimeo)

This book contains information useful to women entrepreneurs belonging to ethnocultural communities. Also contains information aimed at overcoming obstacles such as difficulty in acquiring credit.

Selected directories

Blue Book on Canadian Business

Canadian Key Business Directory

Directory of Associations of Canada

Ethnic Directory of Canada

Ethnocultural Directory of Ontario

Who's who in Canadian Business

## Who's who in Canadian Finance

### Periodicals and Newspapers

The following periodicals have devoted special issues to the subject of ethnocultural entrepreneurship:

American Demographer, 1987, V. 9, # 14

Review of Black Political Economy, Spring 1988, V. 16, # 4

Review of Black Political Economy, Fall 1986, V. 15, # 2

Sociological Perspectives, October 1987, V. 30, # 4

Selected periodicals, journals and newspapers which publish articles on entrepreneurship and ethnocultural entrepreneurship:

American Journal of Small Business

Canadian Business

Canadian Ethnic Studies

International Migration Review

Journal of Small Business and Entrepreneurship

Macleans

Metropolitan Toronto Business Journal

Small Business

This Week in Business

The following is a selected list of recent newspaper and periodical articles on ethnocultural and immigrant entrepreneurship.

"Asians: The faces of success" Financial Times of Canada, July 10, 1989

Profiles a number of prominent ethnocultural entrepreneurs including Poy, Miao, Wong, Leung, Cheung, Sum, Tse, Lau, Tsang, Li, Ray, and Ho.

Bayless, A. "Banking on the Chinese: Serving an ethnic niche pays off." Financial Times of Canada, July 10, 1989

Cline, B "Entrepreneurial immigrants: immigrants own more than 16% of small businesses across Canada." Small Business, October 1988

Dennison, W. "Business immigrants enrich economy" Winnipeg Free Press, March 5, 1987

"Enterprising exiles (Ismailis from Uganda in British Columbia)" B.C. Business Magazine, December 1988, V. 16, # 12.

"Ethnic-owned small businesses are largest employers in the country." Share, April 6, 1988

Hamovitch, E. "Immigrant investor program netted \$168 million." This Week in Business, January 14, 1989

Kucharsky, D. "Construction business helps Saheb build strong foundation in new land." This Week in Business, April 2, 1988

Kucharsky, D. and Hamovitch, E. "Business immigrants wooed by Quebec." This Week in Business, April 2, 1988

Siklos, R. "Hong Kong connection: thousands of Chinese immigrants have brought welcome business talents." Financial Times of Canada, July 10, 1989









